

For about seven

221 months these bands go wandering across the prairie in search of small
 [22] game, small animals such as caterpillars, spiders, grasshoppers,
 rodents, snakes, lizards, and so forth, and fruits, grains, roots or
 wild honey—in short, all that might keep them from dying of hunger.
 Their camps, set up for one or several days, sometimes for several
 weeks, consist of as many temporary shelters as families, made of
 palms or branches stuck in a semi-circle in the sand and connected
 at the top. This is the period when the quest for food absorbs all
 activities. The women equip themselves with digging sticks and
 the men hunt with the bow and arrow, of which several types must be
 distinguished. The eastern groups have a bow with a flat section
 411 which evolves toward a convex-plane section or a concave-convex
 184 section when one moves westward. As for the arrows, those made
 for hunting birds have a blunted tip. Arrows for fish have three to
 five points, each one formed like a minute harpoon, and the item
 is without barb. The poisoned arrows (1), whose tip is protected [15]

1. See below, p. 96.

by a sheath of bamboo, are reserved for hunting monkeys and small
 game. Those for large game have a long lanceolate point. The barb
 is attached or sewed on. Besides the bow and arrow, the men use a club
 [75] which often takes the form of a javelin, and its use is reserved for
 magic and war operations (1).

1. Cf. below, p. 99.

824 The primary materials of the indigenous industry consist of varied
 825 woods, wax from wild bees, resin, fibers of the buriti palm trees
 (Mauritia vinifera) and tucum (Astrocaryum tucuma) bone of the
 monkey, teeth and claws of mammals, fur (only to make ornaments),
 feathers, quills of porcupines, vegetable shells and river shells, stones,
 412 cotton and grains. As implements they have knives made from a sharp
 piece of bamboo, from stones crudely fashioned, or from fragments
 of iron or steel obtained through exchange, and fixed with the aid of
 wax and cord between two pieces of wood forming the handle. Drills
 are made of a borer of stone or iron mounted at the end of a stick
 [77] which they turn between their palms. The Rondon Commission ex-
 panded the use of axes and metal hammers, and the old stone axes
 serve now only as small anvil blocks for fashioning shell or bone.
 [45] The use of stone polishers must also be mentioned and, among the
 objects of current usage, the spindles, combs, baskets and gourds to
 carry water.

789 Poison is thus nánde par excellence, although the latter can exist in other forms, at the same time less precise and more complex. We attach extreme importance to the fact that a rigorously utilitarian technique of the manufacture of poisons is found associated with a theory which accounts for their effectiveness through the intermediary of metaphysical concepts. The presence among the Nambikwara of a curare reduced to a basic product, and whose preparation excludes all ritual, associated with the very low cultural level of these Indians, poses in a particularly impressive way the question of finding out if these characteristics which are very primitive are so by origin or constitute the residue of an impoverished culture. Now, it is much more reasonable to interpret the apparent contradiction of theory and practice in matters of poison by the loss of complex rituals which farther north are attached to the making of curare, than it would be to explain how a theory of supernatural character could have been built on the bases of treatment which has remained purely experimental, of the root of the strychnos.

Besides the notion of nánde we should examine another which is the object of a particularly advanced elaboration among the eastern groups, that of the atafu (al). Atafu signifies animal, but the use of the term by the Indians is complex. First of all it is the animal taken in a generic sense, in opposition to the inanimate. They present me with a honey cake and, pointing out the body of a bee which is still in it, I ask what it is. They do not answer, "it is a bee" but: atafu, "it is the animal." Atafu also means real animals, but ones without their own names in the vocabulary, and which are of particularly fearful character. Thus oxen are called by this name by the Nambikwara who never saw any [99] before the years 1910-1915, and who entertain a great fear of them. Then we find the same term to designate the stars (eastern groups), and the same name is given to the ticktock of the clock, both conceived of as realities animated by mysterious characteristics. Finally, atafu is a special animal of supernatural essence, which is seen appearing in two cases—at night, on the road, in certain places and during certain periods, and upon the approach of death. In the first case, one risks being attacked and killed by the atafu if one does not defend oneself in the appropriate manner. This means is found in the throwing stick [286] [411] [épieu] (distinct from the digging stick), thrown in a prescribed manner. The throwing stick, a large piece of wood of flattened form and pointed at the end is furnished with a handle usually decorated [286] [531] with black and white bark weaving (javelin: hřdosu [al], keřuřere

789 [21], makale (c1). This instrument is used in three circumstances:
 741 in war; to conjure up (or to attract?) rain by manipulating it according to an approved ritual as if one were tracing signs in the air while brandishing it; finally to kill the atsü, by throwing it in the direction of the apparition, using as intermediary a tooth of the jaguar; the throwing stick is placed obliquely in the left hand, the point turned in the direction of the atsü, and the tooth, manipulated by the right hand, acts as a hook for projection. The atsü appears only at night. It may borrow the form of the jaguar or of other animals who are then filled with murderous intentions. When the atsü is caught in his terrestrial form at the point of the javelin, a great flow of blood is produced. The "supernatural" animal is never eaten. They abandon its body to the carrion.

789 In the second case, one is faced with a real theory of death.

761 The sick person who sees the atsü appear knows that he is condemned, and the animal actually carries him off on the spot or returns to get him a little later. The current version of the death of A21, drowned in a river in July 1938, was that the atsü carried him to the bottom of the waters. The atsü would live in the water. An informant described it as having "a large mouth and lots of collars."

789 The southern, central and northern groups bear witness to a
 771 more elaborate religious thought. Among these peoples, the preceding
 741 notions are crowned by a third, which does not appear as clearly in the eastern groups although it is probably present, that of the wind and thunder, hypostasized in the forms of a semi-personal power named amö. (1) In these groups, this is substituted for the atsü in the theory

1. The Tupi origin of this term is evident. One can compare Montoya, *ama: cloud of waters; Nogueira, *ama: cloud; Coudreau (Bibliothèque Linguistique Americaine, XV, 1892), *amane (Oyampi): rain; Goncalves Diaz, *amana: (chuva) rain; Kissenberth (Baessler Archiv, VI, 1-2, 1916-1917), *amana, aman, ama (Tapirapé): rain; Nimmoendaju (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, XLVI, 1914), *ama (Lingua Gêral): (chuva) rain.

of death, and it is possible to communicate with it through revelations and visions.

[End Plate II]

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1-2. At the site of the semi-permanent village of group a1 (cf. p. 48). 3. Forced halt on the road by the same village (cf. p. 87 ff.).

[End Plate IV]

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1. Return from the bath. 2. Native C11 leaving for a solitary hunting expedition. 3-4. Camp life (cf. p. 16). 5. Little girl looking for edible roots and carrying a little monkey (Lagothrix sp.) on her head. 6. The two little girls a8 and a9 (cf. p. 42).

and dots hanging down from the nape of the neck. A similar but shorter headdress may be worn in daily life. 301

Hair is groomed with a composite comb. It is cut with a shell, either all around the head at the level of the ear lobe, or only across the forehead, the back and sides being allowed to fall loose. Body painting consists mainly of urucú smeared uniformly, but some groups roughly trace black dots and stripes with genipa juice on the chest and legs. Face and body hair is generally pulled out, especially by women; men often have a sparse moustache and beard. [386] 302

TRANSPORTATION

Canoes are unknown. Small waterways are crossed on a fallen tree; large ones by swimming, sometimes with the help of large floating bundles of buriti palm stems. Babies straddle their mother's hip supported by a large sling of bark or woven cotton. 481 501 854

MANUFACTURES

Spinning.—Women spin cotton with a crude drop spindle made of grass stalk. The whorl is a wild fruit, a potaherd, or a conical piece of sun-dried clay. Cotton thread is rolled in a ball and, like everything else in a Nambícuara household, wrapped in leaves. Women and men twist tucum and buriti fibers on their thighs to make string. 283

Weaving.—Weaving is limited to cotton bands and belts which men make on small, rough looms of the "Arumal" type (pl. 37, center, right). 286

Basketry.—Men make long, open-mouthed, cylindrical baskets using bamboo strips and a hexagonal, open weave. Fire fairs are plaited of palm leaves. The Northern Nambícuara used palm leaves to weave low square baskets for storing the manioc and maize flour. 285

Pottery.—Pottery is unknown among the Eastern Nambícuara. In other groups, women make coarse pots of varying sizes. They mix the clay with ashes, fire the pot in the open, and wash it while it is still hot in an infusion of resinous bark. [317] 323

Implements.—Stone ax heads were formerly fixed with wax and strings in the loop of a bent handle. Knives and drills are made of a crude flint chip or piece of iron fastened with wax and thread at the end of a piece of wood or between two pieces of wood, which form the handle. Women hollow small cylindrical mortars in tree trunks by means of fire. Fire is made with a fire drill, crude rubber serving as tinder. The Indians burn almecopa (*Tetragastris balsamifera*) resin for light. Knives are thin, sharp-edged pieces of wood. [372] [373] 412

Weapons.—The Nambícuara bow is about 5 to 7 feet (2 m.) long, the section being flat, semicircular, or concave according to the group. The grip is wrapped with cotton. The arrow is released between the thumb and the first finger, the three other fingers being placed on the 411

- 411 string (secondary release). Four types of arrows are used: (1) featherless fishing arrow with three to five prongs; (2) bird arrow with a blunt point; (3) big-game arrow with a lanceolate bamboo point; and (4) poisoned arrow, used chiefly for hunting monkeys, with several barbs which are attached to the point with cotton wrapping and which break easily in the wound, being, therefore, usually protected by a bamboo sheath. The last three have a bamboo shaft and "Arara" feathering. Sewed feathering is known by the central and northern groups but seldom used. [26] For warfare, big game arrows with serrated bamboo points are used.

278 Nambicuara arrow poison is a curare prepared by grating the root of a *Strychnos* shrub, and by infusing (*Eastern Nambicuara*) or boiling (*Central and Northern Nambicuara*) it until the water evaporates and leaves a thick brownish substance, which is smeared on a wax-coated arrow point. It can be preserved in tiny pots for several months. Among South American arrow poisons, it is remarkable because it is made of only one vegetable substance and is prepared openly—in some groups by the chief or shaman, in other groups by anyone—without magical practices or taboos. Its great toxic properties were studied by Veillard (1939 b).

Other poisons of unknown composition are used for amorous or political revenge. They are in the form of powders and are kept in tubes made of feather quills, bamboo, or other woods, each ornamented with paintings and cotton or bark wrappings.

411 Clubs are carved in the shape of a flattened or cylindrical pointed spade; the handle is often adorned with black and white plaiting of philodendron bark and bamboo strips. Their purpose is mostly ceremonial.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

- 601 Kinship terms identify parallel-cousins with siblings, and cross-cousins with potential or actual spouses. Cross-uncles and cross-aunts are called by the same terms as parents-in-law and grandparents; parallel-uncles and parallel-aunts are equated with parents. Similarly, parallel-nephews and parallel-nieces are classed with children, and cross-nephews and cross-nieces with children-in-law. Marriage is between cross-cousins or between the maternal uncle and his niece. Monogamy is the rule, but [502] polygyny is the privilege of the chief and other important men. Polygyny [545] is usually with several sisters (sororal) or with a woman and her daughters by a former union. The first wife runs the household, subsequent wives being assistants to the husband. The deficiency of available women which results from polygyny is compensated by homosexuality [838] between adolescent male cross-cousins (Lévi-Strauss, 1943 a).

622 The village is ruled by a chief, but each of the nomadic bands into which it splits during the dry season is led by a secondary chief. Chief-

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[411]



PLATE XI.—Nambicuará and upper Guaporé Indians. Top: Fimonta Bureau hut. Crater, left: Nambicuará family shelter. Crater, right: Nambicuará man weaving on armband. Bottom, left: Nambicuará family. Bottom, right: Woman drilling a mother of pearl oyster. (Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss, except bottom, left, by courtesy American Museum of Natural History.)

[end plate 2]

412 in her burden basket, whereas the modern axes,
415 knives, and other tools, along with his ornaments, the man carries in a similar basket, or he straps this basket on the back of a boy while he walks in front of the file carrying his bow and arrows or gun ready to shoot whatever game is met along the way. Whenever they kill some animal or catch a few fish and feel hungry they stop and prepare a meal. During the dry season they are at home anywhere in their band territory, moving only when hunger spurs them on.

[264]

411 Today, of course, the Nambicuara have steel
412 axes and knives. The heavy equipment of the
177 Waklitau band in 1949, consisted of three axes, two shotguns, and some half dozen hoes which were hidden near their permanent house. Each man had a butcher knife, but all men did not have bows and arrows. There did not appear to be any desire on the part of each man to possess these implements. So long as the band had a few of these objects everyone seemed to be satisfied. Cascudo, a widower when he arrived in Utiariti, did not possess a bow and arrow, nor a gun, nor an ax. By working for the Protestant missionaries he acquired an ax and when Marciano died he inherited his bow and arrows. After a few days, however, he had given the bow and arrows to a Brazilian in exchange for a felt hat.

[439]

412 Examining the hand tools which Julio used, the following articles were found: A chisel (*twa'tiru*) made by inserting a piece of steel into a wooden handle wound with twine; a small bamboo knife (*ak'ak-wir'itatu*); a hardwood drill (*hikatu*), used with sand for perforating tucum nut shells in making beads; a piece of sandstone (*adigieu*), used as a whetstone; a number of rough leaves of the lissiro tree (*kis'etatu*), used as sandpaper; and a comb (*ha'alatu*). Each of Julio's three wives had a burden basket, a small square basket, and two or three gourd vessels of various sizes. A single wooden mortar and pestle did service for the whole band.

[306]

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411 One of the most important implements of the Nambicuara is the bow, *ak'ieu*, made from the *piuva* (jacaranda-copaia) or the *siriva* palm (*Syagrus species*). By far the most common is the bow made from *piuva*, ranging between 6 and 7 feet in length, flat on the inside and convex on the outside. One of the bows examined measured 2 meters and 14 cm. in length, 4 cm. in width, and 1.5 cm. in

● 411 thickness in the middle. This bow is made from the honey-colored heartwood of a small piuva tree. After cutting a piece of the required length the bow maker splits it by using two or three axes. He then trims off the outer layer of wood with an ax, shapes it with a knife, and polishes it with lixeiro leaves. The inner side of the bow is flat or slightly concave, depending upon how the wood splits. Shoulders are made at each end to hold the bowstring. The bow is made from green wood, no attempt being made to season it. The siriva bow is the same shape and is made in the same way but the black wood surrounding the center is used. The siriva bow is more common among the Western Nambicuara.

[184] The bowstring (*akuwiniwa*) is made from tucum fiber and is about one-eighth of an inch in thickness. The cord is much longer than required and the extra length is wound around the bow for about 6 inches just above the hand hold. The cord is wound from left to right, the running end being brought back over the previous turn to form a cross on the inside of the bow. The string is always smeared with urucú (*dúse*). As the bowstring wears out it is not removed but new lengths of tucum fiber are woven into the extra length.

The basis of the Eastern Nambicuara arrow is the jointless shaft (*aluketrikatu*), which appears to be cane (*Godus* sp.). Before being made into an arrow the cane shaft is heated over a fire to harden it. Into this cane shaft, which is roughly three-eighths of an inch in diameter, a piuva foreshaft (*ikdikatrutu*) is inserted for a distance of 4 or 5 inches, leaving about 20 inches protruding. The joint is wound with sipó vine for about

[237] 6 inches. To feather the arrow, a 10-inch macaw feather (*akindutu*) is split and the halves are laid parallel to one another on opposite sides of the

[284] butt end of the shaft. The feathers are lashed to the shaft with cotton twine, the lashings being about an inch apart. Although the feathers are laid straight along the shaft, they assume a propellerlike pitch which gives the arrow its revolving motion when in flight. The lashings are covered with beeswax. The butt has a V-notch to hold

[237] the bowstring, which is again tightly wound with waxed cotton twine. By attaching various parts to the end of the foreshaft, four different kinds of arrows about 5 feet long are made.

[284]

411 (1) The *Asaguan*, an arrow which is used for shooting monkeys and large birds, is made by lashing an inch-long slender barb of siriva palm or piuva about an inch back from the sharpened point of the foreshaft.

[223] 224 (2) The *soldates*, or fish arrow, is made by lashing four slender points of wood about 2 inches long to the end of the foreshaft. This arrow need not be feathered. Today wire is sometimes substituted for the wooden points.

[223] (3) The *dankieu*, or blunt bird arrow, used for shooting small birds, has a separate piuva foreshaft, the end of which forms a rounded flat surface about an inch in diameter.

[224] (4) The *Aéptieu*, or big game arrow, has a broad split bamboo point about 12 inches in length which is lashed to the foreshaft. As the bamboo point is slightly grooved along the center, the foreshaft lies along the groove permitting it to be lashed firmly to the tapered sides of the point. Formerly curare poison was smeared along the groove. This was also the arrow used in war.

Sometimes a bamboo point is serrated on one or both sides. In former times, this arrow-head was poisoned with curare. It was attached loosely to the shaft so that when it struck an animal it became detached from the shaft. This arrow was used against big game like the jaguar, tapir, deer, and against human enemies.

The bow is held in a vertical position when shooting; the arrow is held with the thumb and forefinger while the middle and ring finger pull the bowstring, with the arrow resting against the hand side of the bow.

263 Cordage is made from the fibers of the tucum and buriti palms and from cotton. The tucum palm (*Astrocaryum tucuma*), *Asidieu*, provides not only fiber but the hard shell of the nut is used for making the black, round, flat necklace washers, and the thorns from the trunk are used as spikes in the manioc grater. Tucum twine which is a little stronger than buriti twine is used for bowstrings, for stringing beads, and for many other purposes. When a man needs tucum twine he sends his wife to gather the palm leaves. As the young trees grow in clumps, it is a simple matter for the woman to cut off a number of fronds. The woman then takes a long slender leaf, bends it double in the middle so that the woody fiber breaks, then doubles it back and pulls downward

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SP17 Nambicwara SP17

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PLATE 1. Nambicwara archaeological site. a. John demonstrating how to shape a piece of wood. b. A piece of wood being shaped by John.

[P. 136 (H)]

ROQUETTE-PINTO.—Os Índios Nambiquara do Brasil-Central. 325

tucum e breu. Facto notavel: é protegida por um estojo, ou bainha, que é um tubo de taquára. No Brazil são conhecidas lanças envenenadas protegidas de um modo semelhante; mas não conheço um só exemplo de flecha deste modo revestida. A haste das flechas tem um profundo entalhe na base e é adornada com penas de mutum, cará-cará, ou arara, mantidas por fios de tucum e breu ainda.



[411]•

FIG. 4.—DIVERSOS TIPOS DE PONTAS DE FLECHA.
[several types of arrow points]

Dois únicos instrumentos de musica tem a collecção. O primeiro é uma dupla flauta feita de tubos de taquára, com cerca de 17 c. de comprimento por 1 c. de diametro, ligados paralelamente por meio de fios, colocados proximos ás extremidades. O outro é constituido por dois discos concavos, de cabaça, de cerca de 8 c. de diametro, reunidos pelas bordas, por uma tira de "malé-malé" e breu. No disco

Abstract.

Little has hitherto been known of the Nambiquára who inhabit the valley of the Juruena and are spread thence to the rivers Sararé and Galéra, affluents of the Guaporé. In 1909, an official Brazilian explorer, Colonel Rondon, during his journey in the interior of Matto Grosso, was able to enter into friendly relations with them, collecting ethnological objects, and gathering information of their life, geographical distribution and customs, with those also of the Parecí.

The Parecí give the names Uáikoákoré and Ouibanieré to the Nambiquára, thus dividing them into two groups. Individuals of the latter group have darker skins and are more warlike. Colonel Rondon appears to have cleared up the meaning of the name Kabixi, which has been a cause of confusion, as often happens with collective names like Bugre, Tapuya, Guayourú and others. The dwellers in Villa Bella (Matto Grosso) were accustomed to call Kabixi those Indians whom the Parecí called Uáikoákoré, and who, as now stated, are Nambiquára. This name of Uáikoákoré is given by the Parecí of the sub-tribes Kaxinití and Uaimaré of the rivers Arinos, Sacuriú-iná, Tahura-iná and Timalatá to their kindred of the Koxirini group who inhabit the upper parts of the Rio Verde, the Juba, Cabaçal and Jaurú. The term Kabixi is derogatory, implying an inferior condition.

The Nambiquára are usually of medium height; they have large teeth, the abdomen rather prominent, muscular thighs, slender legs and well made feet. They perforate the nostrils, the nasal septum and the ear-lobes. Through the holes made in the nose they pass small pieces of wood, and from the ear lobes they hang ornaments made of small beads of coconut. They wear armlets, bracelets, leg ornaments and bead collars made from the fruit of the mbaciba. They live by the chase, but also plant maize, yams, potatoes, mandioc, and beans. They smoke leaves similar to Brazilian tobacco and do not use hammocks but sleep on the ground, like the Campa-atxiri and the Amúéa of the Gran Pajonal.

In the collection made by Colonel Rondon for the National Museum at Rio de Janeiro there is an alimentary paste similar to the Kétché of the Parecí, made from pounded mandioc. The native breu or bitumen is used with string to fasten arrow points to their shafts. It appears to be a mixture of Oanini and wax, and is preserved in leaves of the Malé-malé palm. It melts at a very low temperature.

To fell trees a stone axe, fixed in a wooden handle by means of cord and bitumen, is used. The Indian who succeeds in felling certain trees with this primitive instrument receives as reward an arara or mutúm feather for a nose ornament. Such a decoration is usually reserved for warlike prowess among the natives of Brazil. The bows are large, strong, of red wood and well-polished, with semi-cylindrical transversal section. Those in the Rondon collection vary from 1m. 80 to 2m. 38 in length. To draw an arrow of 50cm. between the larger bow and its string of tucum a traction force of 60 kilos. is necessary, as verified by the dynamometer. There are five types of arrows. They have two musical instruments, one, a double flute made of two pieces of bamboo tied together, the other, two concave disks of calabash, about 8 cm. in diameter, united at the edges by a strip of Malé-malé and breu. The upper disk has three orifices.

7: Roquette-Pinto--13C E-4, 5 (no date) 1938
(ca. 1912)
SP17 Nambicuará SP17

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Indian of the Serra do Norte shooting
an arrow for elevation.



000

[245] The Tagnani also use a kind of fish trap.

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[411]
223 A rare type of blunt arrow is designed for the capture of birds which serve as playmates to Nambicuara children.

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[25] The birds are felled by the impact and caught easily. Some become used to their cruel captivity; a woodpecker (Colaptes campestris, Vieill) was occasionally imprisoned by a boy under a gourd. No sooner did the child remove the cup than the bird, instead of flying away, would perch upon him. It is true that the Indian nourishes his domesticated birds very well; he constantly feeds them from his own mouth, gently gorging them.

[Fig. 59]

To our intense surprise, as the cephalic measurements of an Anunze woman were being taken, a baby rat fell from the nape of her neck where it had apparently been living cozily, hiding in her hair as in the grass where it was born.

[425] Doves (Chamepelinus talpacoti), young vultures (Sarcoramphus papa, Catharista atrastus brasiliensis, Bonap), monkeys and small owls are also domesticated in the Serra do Norte.

Before the days of the Rondon Commission, the Nambicuara were not familiar with the ox, the mule or the dog. They are still afraid of the ox because of its horns; they have a liking for the donkey, whose meat they find similar to that of the tapir.

[246] They are now good friends of the dog, which at first frightened them greatly; they steal a few whenever they can, and these dogs quickly take a fancy to [the Indians] because they are so well fed. In the master's eating gourd there is always room for the dog's muzzle.

855 They carry their children in a strap slung over the shoulder and across the chest, which the Coccozu make with straw and the others with cotton.

484 They take along everything they own on the shortest excursions; this is a nomadic habit surviving among a nearly sedentary people.

241 A population as large as that of the Serra do Norte would be unable to subsist exclusively on hunting and fishing. The Indians would be forced to travel far and wide in search of food; they would have been annihilated long ago, or else deprived of those characteristics which only their isolation could maintain.

7:Roquette-Pinto--388 E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[opp. p. 248]

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Cocozu Nambicuara

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Nambicuara Indian stringing his bow.

535 Anunze and Uintaçu tribes participated; and a festive dance in which we took part, executed in our honor at Três Buritis by the Tagnani and Tawite.

The war dance filmed in Campos Novos was later also [253] performed by the Tagnani in Três Buritis.

Armed with bows and arrows, the warriors form a line some 15 meters from a piece of wood which represents the enemy, singing in two-part time and marking the beat on the ground with their feet. [Fig. 25]

Two Indians leave the line, arrows ready and bows half strung, and walk as if cautiously hiding among shrubs in the bush. After a wide detour they come near the "enemy" and hurl their weapons at him.

This is the signal to attack; the singing ceases and a rain of arrows falls on the "unfortunate victim"...

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726 Then they advance upon him and give him a thorough drubbing with their bows or with sticks. Incidentally, this is always the function of the arrow--to immobilize the enemy or game and permit the attacker to come close and finish his work with blows. In the hunt or in combat, attack is always made from ambush. This is because the aim of the Indians at a distance [Fig. 27] is not as sure as generally supposed. The Nambicuará are not especially good archers. They certainly cannot draw the bow with their feet like the Bororo. Some can shoot well in height. They use no shield whatever either in the hunt or in war. After the attack they try to recover their projectiles. An arrow represents a certain amount of labor and must not be squandered...

They hold a number of arrows in their left hand and shoot them one after the other with incredible rapidity.

535 Men, women and girls participated in the festive dance.

A large circle was formed to the sound of an endless chant. The women stood on the men's left; pair after pair were joined until the circle was closed. [254] Each man placed his hand on the shoulder of the woman next to him. Within the circle, three girls of approximately the same age accompanied them in a close line, eyes lowered, hands crossed upon the chest. The girl in the center acted as a hub for this choreographic formation... [Fig. 43]

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it reached the Chaco region, where they would thus appear to have lived at an earlier time. (See Krause, op. cit.)

On the other hand, as already pointed out elsewhere, the Nambicuara seem to have received this cultural influx by way of a different route--probably through the other channel of sub-Andean cultural expansion described by Nordenskjöld, which ran from northeastern Bolivia down the Amazon and La Plata watersheds. (Nordenskjöld, op. cit., Vol. 1).

(H. A. T.)

This is perhaps where the problem becomes most difficult: although Elsenreich places the Xingo Indians alongside the Ge, other experts on South American linguistics believe, perhaps rightly, that they should be included with the Caraja in Chamberlain's "Carajan" group. (2)

2. Krichberg, Rivet, and other experts still place the Suys among the Ge.

[Fig. 53]

Yet it is also inevitable to recognize in the Nambicuara language certain special characteristics of the Kiriri tongue. These traits are exclusively phonic, and [thus much less significant than if they were lexical or morphological.

[267] They merely consist of the g, z and kr sounds, which are accepted as peculiar to the Kiriri language (Baptista Caetano).

In the absence of well translated texts, it is impossible to delve more deeply into the study of these dialects. Even the relationships suggested above will be subject to revision when more complete linguistic materials become available.

411 As regards the [National] Museum collection, the following data are worthy of note.

411 The bows of the Serra do Norte Indians (nukicu) are made of
171 ipê (1) wood and are very long, measuring from 1.70 to two meters;

[224]

1. [In this region, the term covers] trees of the Tecoma and Jacaranda genera, Bignonia family. The forest variety is J. copaia, D. Don; the field varieties comprise the yellow type (T. ochracea, Mart.) and the purple or black kind (T. ipê, Mart.).
(A. J. de S.)

the section is semi-circular. Of all Brazilian tribes, only the Catukina of the Purus River coil the twine around the weapon in a similar way. The cross-section of the Catukina bow, however, is quadrangular.

[Fig. 54]

We made an experiment to determine the approximate strength required to lend a bow the necessary power.

The bow we used measured 2.38 [sic] meters in length by 0.047 meter in its greatest width; its tucum cord [268] had a diameter of 0.002 meter. To set in this bow a fifty-centimeter arrow required 68 kilograms of dynamometric traction.

The [Serra do Norte] Indians use the Mediterranean release (Morse's fourth method): bow vertical, arrow resting against the left edge of the bow and held at the base between the index and middle fingers of the right hand.

In the Americas, this method is peculiar to the Eskimo; the "Redskins" employed another. In Brazil, no [other] tribe uses it as far as I have been able to ascertain; [269] for the most part, our Indians use the third method outlined by Morse.

[269] [Brazilian bows fall into the following categories listed by Hermann Meyer: 1) Peruvian; 2) Northern Brazilian; (1) 3) Guiana;

1. Semi-circular cross-section;
dark red, smooth wood of a
leguminous tree.

7.Roquette-Pinto--53A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambéuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

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[287]



Fig. 34. Serra do Norte bow and its cross section.

● H

[268]



Fig. 55. Anlequ--Arrow with smooth cylindrical tip.

[270]



Fig. 56. Uaelicá--Bamboo-tipped arrow.

[271]



Fig. 57. Aie-uicá--Serra do Norte arrow.

411 4) Chaco; 5) Eastern Brazilian.]

171

Nambicuara bows must be placed in the second group on account of their cross-section, which is indeed quite similar to that of Mundurucu bows. Their twine is coiled in the manner of Meyer's Perutypus group.

[Plates p. 248]

[271] [Fig. 58] Meyer classifies Brazilian arrows into seven groups, now insufficient because other types have since been found, but which nevertheless cover the principal characteristics of our arrows. His classification is based on the feathering of the shaft. [1] Eastern Brazilian or Tupian-Ge; 2) Guiana; 3) Xingu; 4) Arara; 5) Maue; 6) Peruvian with fibers; 7) Peruvian with resin, where Nambicuara arrows belong.] This last group is further divided in two: a northern division covering the Amazon Valley, and a southern division covering the Chaco region. The feathers are slit lengthwise, their stem scraped until only the outer layer remains; [272] they are tied spirally to the shaft by means of twine and black resin.

[Fig. 55]

411 Our collection includes war, hunting and fishing arrows. It must be noted, however, that these distinctions are not always maintained; when necessary, the Indians use all three types interchangeably.

Aniêcû: The tip is of red wood, cylindrical, smooth; used to hunt monkeys.

[Fig. 56]

Uaelicû: The tip is sharp, made of taquarucu bamboo (Merostachys sp.); used in war and to hunt large game--capybara, tapir, jaguar.

Aleuincû: The tip is smooth, with a barb at the end.

[Fig. 57]

411 [273] Arukrikatcû: A unique type, armed with a series of
271 barbs secured with twine and pitch. It is coated with a black substance which the Indians believe to be poisonous; for this reason, they protect the tip with a bamboo sheath. It is a war weapon. The "poison" of Nambicuara arrows is harmless... (1)

7-Roquette-Pinto--55A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuará SP17
(ca. 1912)

off

[272]



Fig. 58. Feathering on Serra do Norte arrow.



Fig. 59. Ajêracú--Bird arrow.

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experiment with the resinous, supposedly poisonous substance found on the tip of one of these arrows. He injected a concentrated solution of it into frogs and guinea pigs, and the only resulting symptoms were muscular twitchings, unsteady gait, and some salivation.]

[Fig. 60]

441 Airraçú: The tip is blunt; it is used to stun birds that are to be caught alive or free from blood, which stains the feathers. [See fig. ... (59), p.55A] Often a smooth tip wrapped in a straw pellet is used for the same purpose.

[27] [274] Some unique fishing arrows have a double, triple or quadruple tip and a bone barb. [See fig. ... (37), p. 36B.] Some have feathers at the base, others do not. . . .

All Serra do Norte arrows have shafts made of thin bamboo. The various parts of the weapon are secured with strips of the strong imbe liana (*Philodendron imbe*, Mart.).

[324] [Fig. 61] The clubs are extremely crude weapons of attack and defense, mere portions of thick branches cut when the occasion demands it.

[324] [275] The axes of chipped stone are uniform in type. They are wedge-shaped, made of diorite, and they average two kilograms in weight. The handle is a piece of creeper stem, perhaps from a *Bauhinia*. The pitch and cord used to fasten the stone make the tool surprisingly strong. . . .

381
[324] The pitch is made of mastic resin, jatal (*Hymenea stigonocarpa* or *H. stilbocarpa*), and wax, as well as other unknown substances. It is placed in pots and subjected to the action of fire, then kept in pellets fastened to embira strips or in loaves wrapped in leaves. Both the arrow "poison" and the axe pitch are called by the name of duhutaarú, which means "wax."

[Fig. 62]

411
278

[273]



Fig. 60. Poisoned arrow (arukiritatçô) with protective sheath.

7:Roquette-Pinto--56B E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

411

[274]



Fig. 61. Clubs found among the Serra do Norte
Indians.

Rio Juruma

/215 cont. /

278 Curare of the Nambikwara of the Rio Juruma

The technique of the Nambikwara of the right bank of the Rio Juruma is more primitive.

They use only bark which has just been gathered. The draining off of the bark is done only once and with warm water: the bark /216/ is put on the fire in a rather large amount of cold water, and the operation is ended when the temperature reaches 37° to 40° /centigrade/. It is filtered quickly by squeezing the bark with the hands to extract all the liquid from it. Then comes rapid boiling over a high fire and skimming. After several minutes of a rolling boil the fire is lowered and the liquid kept at a temperature a little below boiling until it has a pasty consistency.

[415]
[237] The curare is kept in paste form in bamboo tubes or changed into a very hard mass by the addition of meliponine beeswax.

This method exposes the curare to strong heat for at least two hours. The Çabanè method reduces this time to ten minutes, the other operations being carried out at low heat. Both produce curares with about the same activity.

[192]
[411] The Rio Juruma Nambikwara call curare and the plant a'urísú or a'ukisú; the roots ta'ādisú; the poisoned arrow aurú kiritkatsú, and its protective bamboo sheath aširikatsú.

Utilization of Curare

278 The Nambikwara are not familiar with the blowgun.
411 They use curare to poison large arrows with long, notched points, capped with a protective bamboo sheath. The points of the Tamandé curare arrows are shorter and more slender than those of the other Nambikwara. They are usually placed in twos, threes, and fours under a single protective sheath.

According to the Indians an arrow's activeness does not last more than three or four months. The curare in paste form is kept for a longer time (close to a year). Hard curare can be kept for years.

/216 cont. /

224 The poisoned arrows are intended for hunting certain ani-
278 mals, some large birds, cervids, and especially monkeys.

411 Birds wounded by one of these arrows fall almost immediate-
[203] ly.

A monkey mortally wounded with an ordinary arrow or even a bullet often remains hanging from the branches. Under the action of curare it holds itself immobile at first, then begins to tremble and falls several minutes later (five to 10 at the most) as soon as paralysis is produced.

A peccary or small deer such as the Cervus campestris wounded in the body runs for one or two minutes, then stops exhausted, is attacked by tremors and lies down.

The tapir, very large, resists a long time; it can run for two hours before stopping; hence the Indians do not hunt it with curare.

[262] /217/ The meat of animals killed with curare may be
[263] eaten without harm; the Nambikwara of the Juruena content themselves with cutting away the flesh around the wound impregnated with poison and colored yellow; the Çabanè do not even take this precaution.

279 Poisoned arrows are also used for war; this is perhaps their
411 principal object among many Nambikwara groups, who possess
726 only a very few specimens during normal times.

None of the Indians know of an efficacious antidote. According to our informants wounds in the trunk would always be fatal to men. By immediately drawing out the arrow, it might be possible to survive a wound in a limb; in order to make their extraction more difficult, the points of the poisoned arrows, especially those of the Çabanè, are very lightly attached to their shafts.